

Message Text

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ACTION AF-04

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 NSC-07 NSCE-00 L-02 SAM-01 PM-03

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FM AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8749

S E C R E T KINSHASA 6601

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, AO, CG

SUBJECT: ZAIRE AND FUTURE OF ANGOLA

REF: A. STATE 163355

B. STATE 163356

C. KINSHASA 6577

1. AS SEEN FROM KINSHASA CARDOSO'S REJECTION (PARA 9 REF B) OF SUGGESTION THAT PORTUGAL TRY TO FORM PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT IN ANGOLA WITHOUT FNLA APPEARS WISE. FNLA ENJOYS MOBUTU'S FULL BACKING AND ITS MILITARY POTENTIAL, PARTICULARLY WITH ZAIRIAN ARMY SUPPORT, IS SIGNIFICANT AND GROWING. A PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT IN ANGOLA THAT EXCLUDED FNLA WOULD HAVE MAJOR "NORTHERN PROBLEM" ON ITS HANDS.

2. QUESTION IS WHAT WOULD IT TAKE TO GET FNLA TO JOIN. HOLDEN ROBERTO WILL TAKE HIS CUE FROM MOBUTU ON THIS. MOBUTU'S LONG-TERM GOAL IN ANGOLA, AT LEAST UP UNTIL PORTUGAL SWITCHED ITS AFRICAN POLICY, WAS TO MANEUVER HOLDEN INTO POWER THERE WITH AIM OF HAVING FRIENDLY STATE BETWEEN ZAIRE AND SEA. WHETHER RAPID COURSE OF EVENTS IN PORTUGAL AND ANGOLA IN RECENT MONTHS HAS

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CAUSED MOBUTU TO LOWER HIS SIGHTS IS UNCLEAR. AN INDICATION

MAY BE PROVIDED BY THE KIND OF AGREEMENT, IF ANY, THAT EMERGES BETWEEN FNLA AND MPLA AS RESULT OF BUKAVU QUADRIPARTITE SUMMIT (REF C) WITH NETO, CHIPENDA AND HOLDEN IN ATTENDANCE.

3. EMBASSY IS LESS INCLINED THAN IN PAST TO DISCOUNT POSSIBILITY THAT MOBUTU MIGHT CONSIDER MILITARY INITIATIVE IN NORTHERN ANGOLA OR CABINDA IF HE SAW THREAT OF BEING BLOCKED OFF FROM SEA BY UNFRIENDLY REGIME. HOWEVER, HE WOULD DO THIS RELUCTANTLY IN VIEW OF OAU DOCTRINE AGAINST FRAGMENTATION OF COLONIES AND OF STRONG INTEREST OF NGOUABI IN FUTURE OF CABINDA. "SLIPPING POLITICAL POWER" (PARA 9 REF B) WOULD NOT BE A FACTOR. MOBUTU'S CONCERN RE ANGOLA AND CABINDA ARE BASED ON WHAT HE PERCEIVES TO BE ZAIRE'S INTERESTS AND HE DOES NOT REQUIRE FOREIGN ADVENTURES TO BOLSTER HIS ALREADY FIRM GRIP ON EVENTS HERE.

4. WE DO NOT AT PRESENT SEE WHAT ROLE USG MIGHT PLAY IN BRINING HOLDEN INTO PROPOSED COALITION OR IN SOLVING SEPARATE PROBLEM OF CABINDA (PARA 11 REF B). PRESUMABLY ONE REASON MOBUTU HAS ASKED FONMIN UMBA TO SEEK MEETING WITH SECRETARY KISSINGER IS TO EXPLORE QUESTION POSSIBLE USG ROLE FROM ZAIRIAN PERSPECTIVE. NEWLIN

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